with the Arab population of the northern Sudan. [105 101] Their country was first subjected to intermittent taxation and raiding by the Turks about 1820 and was finally conquered by them in 1867 and became part of the Ottoman Empire. When the Turkish Administration succumbed to the Sudanese Mahdi the Shilluk were involved in a struggle against this new ruler and afterwards against his Khalifa. Lord Kitchener arrived in Shillukland at the end of 1898 and since that time the people have been under Anglo-Egyptian administration. I mention these political events because they have strongly influenced the Shilluk kingship for close on a century, during which the kings have been executed, exiled, deposed, and nominated, by foreign governments. The funerary rites of a dead king and the procedures of election and investiture of a new king were probably not performed in the full traditional manner during this period.

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

The hamlets of the Shilluk, who number about 110,000 souls, are almost continuous, like beads on a string, along the west bank of the Nile from near Lake No to about lat. 12 N. with a number of 361 161 131

settlements on the east bank and along the lower reaches of the Sobat. Their country is treeless savannah but, unlike their cousins the Nuer and Dinka, they are predominantly agricultural and sedentary, for their long river frontage gives them adequate water and grazing in the dry season for the comparatively few cattle (about 25,000) they possess.[1] The brief account I give of their social structure is mostly derived from articles in *Sudan Notes and Records* by Mr Pumphrey and Mr Howell.[2]

The hamlets (*myer*, sing. *pac*), built from 100 yards to a mile or so apart on high ground parallel to the river, vary in size from one to fifty homesteads; a homestead (*gol*), the residence of a family (*gol*), consisting usually of two huts encircled by a fence. Each hamlet is occupied by members of an extended family, or small lineage, with their wives, and the homesteads of this group are arranged in a rough horseshoe shape around a common cattle-byre, which shelters the animals in the rains and is used as a club at all seasons, and a common kraal. The headman of a hamlet (*jal dwong pac*) who is also the head of a lineage in

[1] I am indebted to Mr John Donald of the Sudan Political Service for the most recent figures of human and bovine population.
[2] M. E. C. Pumphrey, 'The Shilluk Tribe', *S.N. and R.* (1941); P. P. Howell, 'The Shilluk Settlement', *ibid.* (1941).

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

CHAPTER II

THE SHILLUK

131 THE Shilluk country forms a narrow fringe on the west bank of the Nile, from Kaka in the north to within 30 miles of Lake No in the south. From Kodok to Taufikia the Shilluk also occupy the east bank, and their villages extend some 35 miles up the Sobat River, principally on the north bank. Theirs is the flat grass country, dry in the dry season, swampy in the wet, extending on both sides of the Nile; hence cattle are their wealth and principal care, and although a considerable quantity of millet is grown not enough is harvested to provide fully for the relatively dense population, and scarcity is by no means unusual. A census taken in 1903 gave a population of nearly 40,000, possessing over 12,000 head of cattle and nearly 64,000 sheep and goats. No doubt the number of cattle returned was unduly low, but, making all allowances, the Shilluk are poorer in cattle than are the Dinka. The 1903 figure is far below that suggested by Schweinfurth (1,200,000), and at the present time it is likely that the Shilluk number some 100,000.

171 We have stated in Chapter I that in our opinion the homeland of the Shilluk-speaking tribes lay to the east of Lake Victoria. We have 174 no historical record of a northerly movement, all we can say is that a series of migrations gave rise to a number of tribes speaking Shilluk dialects in what is now the Bahr el Ghazal Province, and that from one of these, the Luo, the Shilluk nation of history originated.

[114] The researches of the Rev. Father Hofmayr of the Austrian Mission[1] indicate that the Luo—the Shilluk-speaking "Jur"—of the Bahr el Ghazal Province represent the remains of what was once a greater Luo people, from whom are derived the present Shilluk nation, or, more accurately, a certain number of their leading families including that of the king. Here in the neighbourhood of the present Luo country, the land of Dimo of the legends, Nyakang—the leader, culture-hero, and first king of the Shilluk—lived with his half-brother's son, Dimo, until the enmity of the latter drove Nyakang and his followers to seek fresh homes to the east and so brought into existence

[1] Wilhelm Hofmayr, *Die Schilluk. Geschichte, Religion und Leben eines Niloten-Stammes*, Wien, 1925.

3: Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

I. DESCRIPTION OF THE COUNTRY AND ITS PEOPLE.

101 NAME The inhabitants are called: *ɔcɔ̀ɔ̀l̨*, "a Shilluk", plural *wɔ̀tɛ cɔ̀ɔ̀l*, "children of Shilluk", "Shilluks"; the country is called *fɔ̀ɲ̀ cɔ̀ɔ̀l* "country of the Shilluks." The word *cɔ̀ɔ̀l* perhaps means "black", vide below. A second name of the people is *cɔ̀ɔ̀ɲ̀*, "descendants of *kɔ̀ɔ̀ɲ̀*," this name is connected with Nyikang, the national hero of the Shilluks. The name "Shilluk" (singular Shilkawi) is given to them by the Arabs, and has now become their common designation; it is of course derived from *cɔ̀ɔ̀l̨*. Other appellations, which are in use among the neighbours of the Shilluks, vide page 44.

131 EXTENSION OF THE COUNTRY The Shilluk country is situated on the western banks of the White Nile, from Kaka to Lake No, that is from about 10°5′ to 9°5′ northern latitude, a length of nearly 350 km, and a width of 5 to 6 hours. Near the mouth of the Sobat (Bahr El Asraf, "Yellow River") a number of Shilluks live on the eastern shore of the White Nile, on both sides of the lower Sobat, chiefly on its northern bank. They extend about 35 miles up the Sobat, the last Shilluk village up river being Nagdyeb. There is also a group of Shilluk settlements at Shakwa El Shilkawi (= Shilluk), near Bahr El Zeraf, on the right bank of the Nile, and on Khor Atar, south of Tonga (*Tʉ̀ɔ̀ɲ̀*). North of Kaka the first Shilluk settlements are found on Aba Island, on the north- and south-end of which there is a small Shilluk village each. Near Masran Island there is also a Shilluk village on the right bank of the Nile. Again single settlements are met with on Masran Island, Wad Dakona Island, and on the north-end of the Gezira Wad Belker.

103 The Shilluks themselves designate the extension of their country by naming the most northern and the most southern village and district of their Kingdom, viz. Mwomo and Tonga (*Mʉ̀ɔ̀mɔ̀*, *Tʉ̀ɔ̀ɲ̀*), which term corresponds exactly to the expression of the ancient Hebrews: from Dan unto Bersheba.

131 174 In former times the country of the Shilluks seems to have been larger than it is now. According to older reports it not only extended further northwards, whence they were driven back by Arab tribes, but they are also said to have, in the 17th century, inhabited both sides of the White Nile south of Kawa; Kawa is situated a little south of El Dueim; so, provided this report is right, they owned at that time a trait of territory nearly three times as great as that they inhabit to-day.

132 CLIMATE From January to April the climate of the country is dry and warm. April is

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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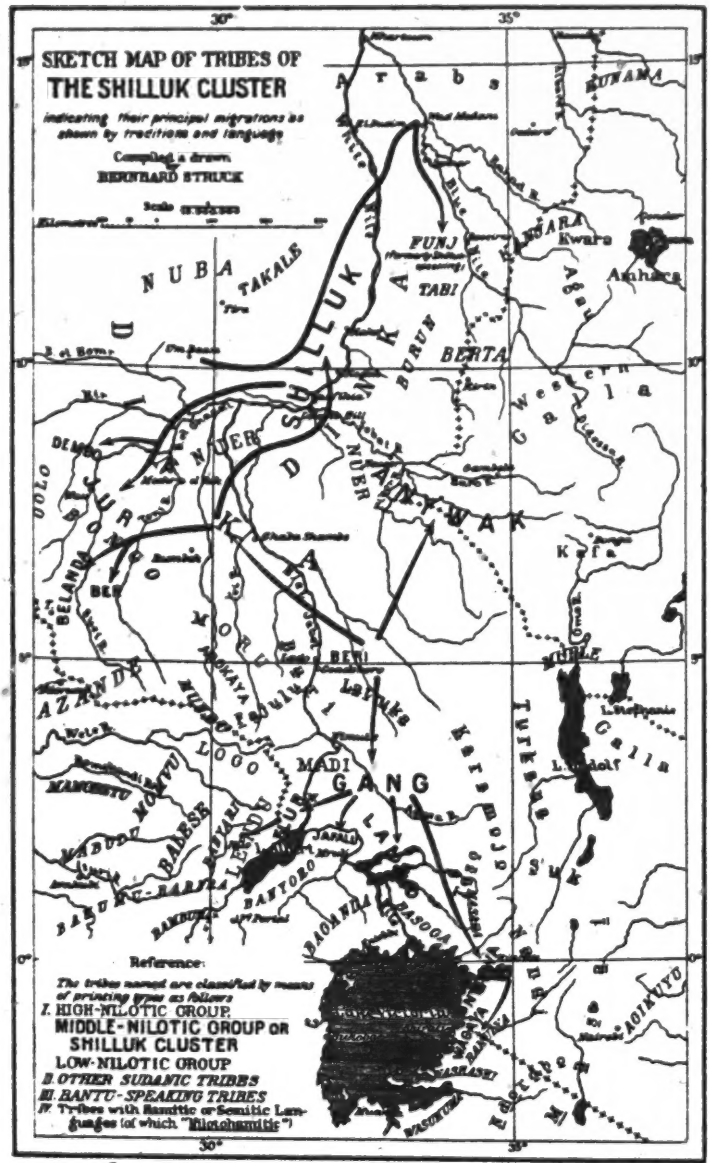
SKETCH MAP OF TRIBES OF
THE SHILLUK CLUSTER
indicating their principal migrations as shown by traditions and language
Compiled & drawn
BERNHARD STRUCK
Scale
Reference:
The tribes named are classified by means of printing types as follows:
I. HIGH-NILOTIC GROUP
MIDDLE-NILOTIC GROUP OR SHILLUK CLUSTER
LOW-NILOTIC GROUP
II. OTHER SUDANIC TRIBES
III. BANTU-SPEAKING TRIBES
IV. Tribes with Hamitic or Semitic Languages (of which "Hamitosemitic")
Arabs
NUBA
TAKALE
SHILLUK
DINKA
NUER
BURUN
BERTA
FUNJ
TABI
Kwara
Amhara
Kafa
Galla
MADI
GANG
LANGO
BARI
LOTUKO
LOKOYA
TURKANA
KARAMOJO
TOPOSA
DONGOTONO
MORU
AZANDE
BELANDA
BAMBUTU
BABUKUR
BAHUANA
BANDA
BAOMANDA
BASOODA
BANDA-BARIA
BANDA-LINDA
BANDA-KARA
BANDA-NDELE
BANDA-KARE
BANDA-NDELE
BANDA-KARE
BANDA-NDELE
BANDA-KARE

Part II

THE SOCIAL ORGANISATION, POLITICAL STRUCTURE AND MAIN CULTURAL FEATURES OF THE NILOTES

INTRODUCTION

The structure and organisation of the Nilotic tribal groups, though showing similarities in many respects and suggesting a certain degree of progressive variation from one or two structural types, cannot be considered in one descriptive whole owing to the complexity of the subject. It is therefore proposed to consider the main Nilotic groups in turn and in conclusion to point out some of the features common to all.

Except where specifically mentioned, the information relating to a people applies to their indigenous organisation.

THE SHILLUK

GENERAL

The Shilluk live in a number of hamlets and settlements which, almost without a break, line the west bank of the White Nile from about 11°N. lat. to Lake No in the south. There are also a few settlements on the east bank and along the lower reaches of the Sobat river.

They are predominantly agricultural and sedentary, owning comparatively few cattle. The long river frontage of their habitat gives them adequate water and grazing in the dry season for the few cattle they do possess. There are no large scale transhumant movements in the dry season to find cattle pastures. Only youths go into dry season cattle camps which are situated mainly on islands in the river or in dry water-courses near it. The cultivations are likewise nearby, either in the settlement area or inland a short distance away. Ecological conditions therefore enable the people to remain in the same place all the year round and render the settlement areas self-contained economically.

SOCIAL ORGANISATION AND POLITICAL STRUCTURE

TERRITORIAL DIVISIONS AND KINSHIP UNITS

The Homestead (gol)

The *gol* is the smallest social unit in the tribe and usually consists of about two huts encircled by a fence. Every married man has a *gol* which he occupies with his wife, or wives, and children. In addition

Some Observations of a Fieldtrip among the Shilluk

Mohamed Riad

131 The Shilluk occupy a country that extends from 10°45' E. to 9°15' latitude. Particularly the west bank of the WHITE NILE from about 50 kilo - meters north of Kaka to approximately 50 kilometers east of Lake No. There is also a Shilluk pocket within Northern Dinkaland. Thus they occupy the right bank of the White Nile from near Kodok to the confluence of the Sobat. They also extend some 60 kilometers up the Sobat river, mainly on its northern bank.

361 The Shilluk settlements, if they can be called villages, are situated from about half a kilometer to a kilometer off the river bank giving the impression of beads hung on a string(1). Also, on the banks of the khors i.e. seasonal streams which discharge into the Nile, rising from the west or east and sloping toward the Nile, Shilluk settlements are to be found. The breadth of the Shilluk land does not exceed a five hour march from the banks of the river(2) and there is a no-man's land which stretches back to the west [311] till the Nuba-hills. This is used as a dry season (winter) grazing land by both Shilluk and nomad Baggara Arabs, but the Shilluk do not, as a rule, pasture their cattle so far to the west. This area is quite well-known only in those areas where roads go up from the river banks to the Nuba mountains. 133 The hydrology of this area is not known although some khors intersect it with courses estimated as parallel to the Nile and joining other khors to discharge seasonal waters into the Nile north of Kaka.

[171 The Nile is the main waterway in the Shilluk land and because the Shilluk have a comparatively long water front they are the most skilled 226] fishermen of the Nilotic group. The most important khor is one called Collo which takes its waters from the Nile, or more precisely from the bank-swamps against Malakal and runs parallel to the Nile separated from it only by a stretch of comparatively high bank, one to three kilometers broad, and then discharges again in the Nile south of Kodok. Again there is another khor called khor Arepejar which rises from the west and discharges into the Lollo. (3) This khor is of almost no hydrological importance, but of a great significance in the realm of Shilluk cosmology and spiritual thinking. This khor is [79 the boundary between the two religious provinces into which Shillukland is 63] divided. On its banks one of the important rites of king installation takes place.

132 The Shilluk country is more or less a flat land covered with Savannah grass and with occasional clusters of trees, mainly along river 133 and khor banks. The most famous tree is the Dolob(Borrassus aethiopum) 137 which grows in beautiful groves on the Nile banks. The rainy season begins in May but occasional showers heralding the rains occur at the end of March and early April. The dry season begins near the end of October. Rainfall is heaviest in the south. Here is the mean annual rainfall at our stations:-

Fangak	(9°5'N)	1187 mm
Malakal	(9°32')	737 mm
Kodok	(9°55')	682 mm
Renk	(11°45')	506 mm

9:Howell E-5 (1937-1950) 1952 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

which largely concern social structure and kinship systems, are to be published later. In this article I have attempted to set down the evidence, often conflicting, concerning the secular and legal functions of the *reth* or king and, since these are relevant, the Shilluk laws of homicide. Professor Evans-Pritchard points out 'if we are to understand the place of the kingship in Shilluk society we must, I think, beware of attempts to define it in terms of judicial and administrative functions and view it rather as a ritual office and in a wider political context'.[1] There are in fact two opposing views. On the one hand are those who consider that the *reth* was the head of a highly-organized administration with a hierarchy of appointed chiefs; that he had absolute powers of adjudication and execution; that he exacted tribute from his people; that he imposed fines upon them for offences against the State. On the other hand are those who hold the opinion that the *reth* had no extensive secular functions of a political or administrative nature, but only a supreme ritual function to perform as the central symbol of the moral and natural order. That the political homogeneity of the Shilluk and the national characteristics of their political structure are maintained by the institution of the *reth* is not to be denied. An analysis of Shilluk political structure, of the segments themselves and of their latent opposition, reveals many forms which closely resemble similar segments in Nuer and Dinka society. The existence of the *reth* gives meaning and co-ordination to the segments of Shilluk society which would otherwise lack political cohesion. But how far are we justified in assuming that the *reth* was an autocratic ruler who intervened in everyday affairs and imposed his authority on his people?

Characteristics of Shilluk Society

The Shilluk are a Nilotic tribe who occupy a narrow strip of country mainly along the west bank of the Nile from Tonga to approximately Lat. 11° N. They are clearly of the same basic stock as the Nuer and Dinka, but have closer affinities with the peoples classified as Shilluk-speaking, i.e. the Anuak, who live along the Baro and Pibor rivers on the frontier of the Sudan and Ethiopia, the Acholi, Lango, Alur, Jopadola, Jaluo,[2] who live as far south as the north-eastern shores of Lake Victoria, and small groups living in the area of the upper waters of the Bahr el Ghazal. Their mythology suggests a common origin and their language is closely allied.

According to tradition the Shilluk migrated from the south through the Bahr el Ghazal into their present country under the leadership of Nyikang, their culture hero and the founder of the present dynasty of Shilluk kings. They conquered and subsequently mixed with the original inhabitants (about whom we know little except that they were probably not a Nilotic people) and extended their territory by raids and infiltration considerably farther north than their present boundaries. Tradition, supported by tribes other than the Shilluk and by Arab tribes living farther north, indicates that Shilluk country once extended as far north as Khartoum.

The Shilluk are now a sedentary people and have nothing approaching the large-scale dry-season migration of the Dinka and Nuer in search of green pasture. Their permanent villages, built on the high ground close to the Nile, are occupied all the

[1] Evans-Pritchard, op. cit., p. 13.

[2] See, for example, Driberg, *The Lango*; Northcote, 'The Nilotic Kavirondo', *J.R.A.I.*, 1907; Evans-Pritchard, 'Luo Tribes and clans', *Rhodes-Livingstone Journal*, no. vii.

121 To begin with, we just need a quick resumé of the historical background, engulfed, as is always the case, in mythological terms, of both components of our subject. Who are the Shilluk, and who were the Funj?

8) The SHILLUK :

● 131 The Shilluk now are a negroid tribe that occupies mainly the west bank of the White Nile from about Kaka to Tonga - a distance of about 350 km, and extends inland from the river to about 30 to 50 km. They also occupy the lower reaches of the Sobat river and a pocket around the town of Malakal on the eastern banks of the White Nile.

141 144 The physical characters of the Shilluk are surely negroid but they are not Negros. Anthropometric results indicate that they are a tall ethnic group, dolichocephalic and platyrrhine. 9) But within the tribe anthropometrical data also reveals two distinct racial components; the royal family and the common Shilluk, the former being taller and more dolichocephalic. 9) Further, heterogeneity was also detected between the northern part of the Shillukland and the Southern part, with higher stature and higher cephalic index figures in the north. 10)

144 173 This compound heterogeneity has its backing in the Shilluk tradition. The national hero, semi-God, and first king of the Shilluk, Nyikang, led his family on a long march which was divided into two periods of wandering, and gathering adherents and followers from everywhere, and without discrimination, arrived in the present Shilluk land. The stock of wanderers was definitely alien to the peoples who were inhabiting the land, and whom we may call aboriginals of the Shilluk land. Nyakang incorporated part of these aboriginals in his new kingdom; the other part probably fled from the country to the nearest area that provided refuge, and this must have been the eastern Nuba Mountains, to the west of the present Shilluk country. It is naturally expected that after such an event -the coming of a new stock, wielding power in their hands- a caste system would be introduced to the country; the newcomers are now the elite of the country. Titles of nobility are held to the fourth generation. 11) Descendants after the fourth generation are also respected.

144 635 The racial difference between north and south within the Shilluk country is backed by the fact that the country is politically divided in two provinces, opposed to each other to the degree

8) Seligman, p.13, and p. 38. Also Riad, pp. 71-76

9) Riad, pp. 71-76

10) Riad, pp. 71-76

11) Seligman, p. 49.

133 From the strategical point of view, this broad, shallow and swampy water course would provide a sort of permanent border to any state east or west of it, as well as a kind of no-man's land, in which case river farers are safe.

174 It is most probable that the Shilluk, perhaps with their leader Nyikang, or alone, undertook many scouting expeditions down-stream, and it may be the case that their economic activities as fishermen also took them down stream where they found the good shelters which the Islands provide. Furthermore, the Shilluk may have taken advantage of their safe positions, and of their skill with their canoes, to fall upon wandering nomads by surprise, and loot their cattle on both sides of the river. In this way it came [131] to be that Shilluk villages were reported on the Islands 23) south of 13 degrees latitude.

We do not know whether such settlements were permanent or seasonal, but the existence of such settlements must not at all mean that the Shilluk occupied both sides for sure, or even established Shilluk authority for a single generation. This is quite clear from Shilluk tradition itself. Quoting my informants, I would rather say that Nyikang stayed some years down stream, 173 and then returned. There was no other repetition of such a Shilluk 174 adventure. None of the followers of Nyikang tried to press their claim northward. Moreover, the Shilluk traditions define the country as being 'from Mucmo to Tung' 24), these being the present Shilluk borders. Had it been more once, why was it not preserved in the tradition?

C) The FUNG 1)

173 The Fung kingdom was one of the most important kingdoms that ever rose in the Sudan. It was the sole heir to the Alwa kingdom. The founder of the Islamic Empire was a man called Amara Dunkas. There is evidence that this Amara was, before founding Sennar, a king of an area which may be defined as corresponding to the present Southern Butana 25), the area where the Abyssinian plateau and the Sudan plains meet. His capital was called Lamul, 26) which some historians put on the present Ethiopian and Eritrean border, between the rivers Takazze and Khor al Gash. 27)

It is agreed that Amara Dunkas did not conquer Soba, the Capital of Alwa, alone, but he was a higher partner with another Arab chief in this great task. The Fung Chronicles tell us that Amara rallied his forces near Jebel Moya and moved north, while the Arabs moved south from their stronghold near the sixth cataract, and together smashed Soba. 28)

23) Westermann, p. XX.
24) Lienhardt, p. 151.
25) Bosaily, p.48, defines the first kingdom of Amara as including the northwestern part of the present Ethiopia.
26) Crawford, pp. 134-142. A description of Reubeni's journey and how he met Amara in Lamul. Arkell in (A) tried to reduce the name Lamul to Lul, a district in the present Shillukland.
27) Bosaily's opinion given to me in a personal discussion in Cairo.
28) Awad, p. 282.

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944)1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

THE DEATH OF A RETH OF THE SHILLUK AND THE INSTALLATION OF HIS SUCCESSOR

By P. P. Howell and W. P. G. Thomson

INTRODUCTORY

(P.P.H.)

The Shilluk are a Nilotic tribe who occupy a narrow strip of country mainly along the west bank of the Nile from about Lake No to about Lat. 12° N. They are of the same stock as the Nuer and Dinka tribes who border them to the south and east, but they are more closely related in language, culture and in their mythology to the Anuak,[1] who live along the Baro and Pibor rivers on the frontier of the Sudan and Abyssinia, to the Acholi, Lango, Alur, Jopadola, and the Shilluk-speaking Kavirondo or Jaluo who live as far south as the north-eastern banks of Lake Victoria. Other smaller and more scattered tribes live up the Bahr el Ghazal These tribes have been classified as the Shilluk-speaking group, though there is now little contact between them. Their mythology suggests a common origin and certainly their language is closely allied. The name Shilluk is probably an Arabic version of the word Colo, which is what the Shilluk call themselves

According to tradition the Shilluk migrated from the south via the Bahr el Ghazal into their present country under the leadership of Nyikang who is their tribal hero and the founder of the present dynasty of Shilluk kings. They conquered and mixed with the original inhabitants, who were probably not a Nilotic people at all, and extended their country by raids and infiltration a good deal north of their present boundaries. Tradition, confirmed by tribes other than the Shilluk and by the Arabs who live north of them, states

1. See Evans-Pritchard "The political system of the Anuak" (Monographs on social anthropology No. 4) 1940.

[p. 5]

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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[FACING P. 6]

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Chapter I

WHERE IS KODOK?

I remember once reading a book, *Cavalcade* I think it was called, the first chapter of which described the return from the South African War of the Civic Imperial Volunteers. In it one of the victorious heroes was asked by his admiring wife, "Where is Africa, Alf?", but alas, Alf didn't know. My ignorance, I fear, was similar to that of Alf when in 1939 I received an appointment to work in the Apostolic Prefecture of Kodok. Almost all that I knew of Kodok was that it was in the Sudan, and therefore somewhere in Africa; to that extent, at least, my knowledge was superior to Alf's. I did know where Africa was, but apart from that the name Kodok was just a palindrome, for it was the last and least of our missions, having been entrusted to the care of the Mill Hill Fathers only in the previous year, and the first band of five priests with Monsignor J. A. Wall at their head had but recently taken possession of the new field.

It was in December, 1939, that four of us set out to augment the original band of five, sailing in a wartime convoy for Africa. By this time I had learned a little more about the place. I knew, for instance, that it was the same place as Fashoda, famous in history as the meeting-place of Kitchener and Marchand and the scene of the 'incident' which nearly brought about war between France and England; that it was situated on the River Nile, 450 miles or so south of Khartoum; that it gave its name to an Apostolic Prefecture which theoretically covered a territory more than twice the size of Ireland, but in practice was confined to the land of the tribes dwelling on the river banks; that in the Prefecture there were already four mission stations established at Detwok, Lul, Tonga and Yoynyang by the Verona Fathers,

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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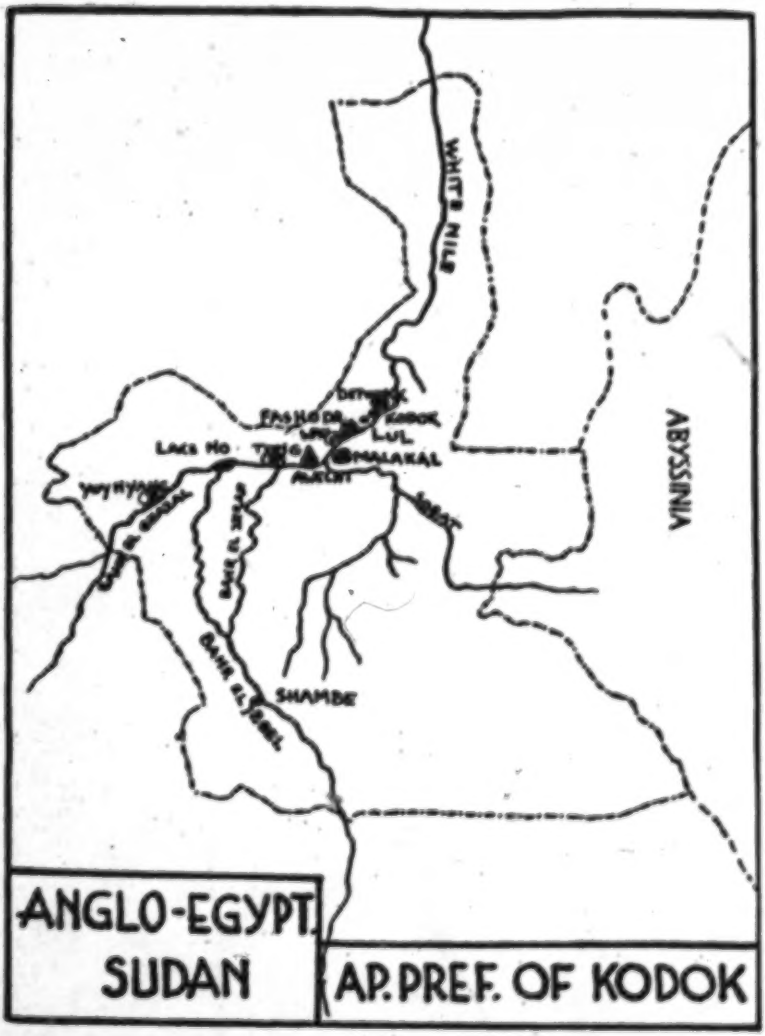

had been warned that the boat would arrive at Detwok about 9 a.m. At last I heard the raucous hoot which was so often to rouse me from my beauty sleep during the coming years; I bade a quick farewell to the other Fathers who had

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29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

173 To the west and north was the desert inhabited by peoples
174 greater and stronger than themselves and prepared to dispute their advance in that direction; on the east the Nile ran, and behind them were the swamplands, and Dimo.
●131 They had no choice then but to stay in the country where
361 they are found today, a narrow belt of land extending from Tonga in the south to Kaka in the north, a distance of about 150 miles. Inland Shilluk settlements may be found 15 miles away from the river, but generally their villages, containing from two to twenty or thirty families, stand no further than a mile or two from its banks, straggling along the whole length of the country. Since their first settling there some hardy souls have crossed the Nile and found a foothold on its eastern bank which they have gradually extended until they occupy a strip of land stretching from opposite Kodok in the north to the River Sobat in the south, and along that river for a distance of 30 miles or so. The nature of the country on the other side, however, does not differ from that of their original settlement, and the powerful Dinka tribe has always opposed their progress inland, so that those who have gone to live on the eastern bank are no better off than they were before.

565 The social structure of the Shilluk tribe is built up from a division of the people into four classes or castes. These classes are not however exclusive, for they live together in the same villages, share common tasks and recreations and even intermarry. The basis of the division is the possession of royal blood, or, ultimately, descent from Nyikang.

565 The first class is that of the Kwareth, the Royal Clan. To
644 this belong all those who are members of the royal houses tracing their ancestry directly to Nyikang. Only a member of this class is eligible for election as king. The first four generations of a king's descendants are recognized as being of royal blood and are entitled to the privileges of royalty.
[304 Thus they are permitted to retain all their teeth, they may
301 wear an anklet of small white beads, and more than one
292] according to the nearness of descent; they alone may dress in a leopard skin for a dance.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

and the bamboo socket into which it is fitted is shorter and thicker. Behind the effigies are carried Nyikang's 'bed', a long forked stick upon which he is propped at night and a basket of food for his refreshment during the journey. The bearers are surrounded by men of the same clan whose duty it is to keep spectators at a distance, and behind follow Shilluk from the district into which the procession has entered, who act as an escort as far as the next section. The march is kept up at a good pace to the accompaniment of songs sung in honour of Nyikang and Dak. At sunset a halt is made at the nearest large village. Nyikang and Dak are put away for the night, Nyikang being propped up on his 'bed' so that he doesn't touch the ground. His bearers and escort are accommodated in the village, huts being evacuated to receive them and food prepared for them. The next morning the march is resumed, the people flocking to the road from all sides to pay homage to their hero-king as he passes by and joining in the unceasing chants of praise in his honour. Eventually, after some five days on the road, the environments of Fashoda are reached. A village, Adodo, has been set aside for Nyikang and his followers, and they rest there until the day appointed for the installation, about three days hence. During all this time the reth-elect has remained in Fashoda, but when he is informed that Nyikang has arrived at Adodo, he moves away from the capital and takes up his residence at Debalo, a few miles to the south. Nyikang is, as it were, in rightful possession of the territory, and the king-to-be is in the position of an intruder until he has proved his fitness to rule.

Between Fashoda and Debalo lies a long narrow water course, Khor Arepejur. This khor is the traditional boundary fixed by Nyikang himself, between the north and the south. On the morning of the first day of the installation ceremonies, the reth-elect and his followers march towards the khor, the reth leading by the hand a little girl who is his 'bride' and who later will be the cause of a dispute between Nyikang and himself. Arrived at the khor the reth finds stretched out across his path a black bull, over which he steps. (Formerly